

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

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P R 071200Z JUL 76

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3119

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 5339

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: JOHNSON-SEменов PRIVATE MEETING JULY 6 (SALT TWO-1050)

1. I HAD THREE AND ONE-HALF HOUR PRIVATE MEETING, RUNNING FROM LATE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON INTO THE EVENING, WITH SEMENOV ON ICBM DEFINITION AND OUR MIRV VARIFICATION PROPOSAL. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY EARLE, AND HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY TRUSOV. IN A WORD, I CANNOT SAY THAT ANY PROGRESS WAS MADE ON EITHER SUBJECT.

2. I OPENED MEETING BY SOLICITING HIS COMMENTS ON WHETHER THEIR USE OF THE TERM "SUCH LAUNCHERS AS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED, TESTED AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING LAND-BASED ICBMS" IN THEIR JUNE 9 PROPOSAL FOR AN AGREED STATEMENT WAS AN EFFORT TO MOVE TOWARD FINDING A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULA FOR WHICH WE WERE USING THE TERM "TYPE" TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL LAUNCHER AND OTHER LAUNCHERS OF THE SAME KIND. I EMPHASIZED THAT I WAS FIRST SEEKING TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THERE WAS A COMMON VIEW BETWEEN US ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS QUESTION FROM WHICH WE COULD PROCEED TO SEARCH FOR A WORD ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. IN SPITE OF GOING ROUND AND ROUND FOR ABOUT TWO HOURS ON

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SUBJECT:, I MADE LITTLE PROGRESS IN MY OBJECTIVE, THEY INSISTING

ON ELABORATING THEIR OBJECTIONS TO THE USE OF THE WORD "TYPE" AND VIRTUES OF THEIR OWN FORMULATION. IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER THEIR VEHEMENT OBJECTIONS TO "TYPE" APPEAR PRIMARILY TO REVOLVE AROUND THEIR VIEWING IT AS EFFORT ON OUR PART TO COUNT LAUNCHERS NOT CONTAINING MIRVED MISSILES AS LAUNCHERS -- A PROPOSITION THEY TOTALLY REJECT. DURING THE COURSE OF THIS DISCUSSION, I ASKED WHETHER SOVIET FORMULATION IN ARTICLE IV, FOR PROHIBITION OF CONVERSION OF NON-ICBM LAUNCHERS TO ICBM LAUNCHERS, WOULD PERMIT DEPLOYMENT OF A NEWLY DEVELOPED ICBM IN A PRE-EXISTING NON-ICBM LAUNCHER WITHOUT PHYSICAL CHANGE TO LAUNCHER. IN REPLY TRUSOV SAID THAT THIS WOULD BE BANNED. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION AS TO WHETHER A LAUNCHER "DEVELOPED, TESTED AND DEPLOYED" TO LAUNCH BOTH NON-ICBMS AND ICBMS WOULD BE CONSIDERED AN ICBM LAUNCHER, HE FIRST REPLIED THAT THIS WAS HYPOTHETICAL. I THEN SAID WE DID NOT CONSIDER IT HYPOTHETICAL, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO LAND MOBILES, AND ASKED HIM DIRECT QUESTION AS TO WHAT WOULD BE SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO A DUAL-CAPABLE LAND MOBILE. HIS RESPONSE WAS ABRUPTLY TO CHANGE SUBJECT:

3. THEN WE HAD LONG AND CONFUSED DISCUSSION ON THEIR OBJECTION TO INCLUSION OF MAY 26, 1972, DATE IN OUR AGREED STATEMENT DRAFT. MY IMPRESSION WAS THAT TRUSOV IS TRYING TO KEEP ISSUE OF OUR DEACTIVATED LAUNCHERS (IN MY DISCUSSION I CAREFULLY REFERRED TO "OBJECTS" RATHER THAN TO "LAUNCHERS") OPEN IN NEW AGREEMENT; BUT SEMENOV EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ANY LANGUAGE THAT I WOULD PROPOSE FOR PLENARY STATEMENTS THAT WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE NOT "ARMS SUBJECT TO NEW AGREEMENT."

4. READING FROM NOTES, SEMENOV MADE LONG STATEMENT ON MIRV VERIFICATION PACKAGE, STATING IN EFFECT THAT THOSE PORTIONS WHICH DID NOT COINCIDE WITH THE SOVIET POSITION WERE "UNACCEPTABLE." IN COURSE OF THIS, HE AGAIN LAID HEAVY STRESS TO THEIR OBJECTION TO THE USE OF THE WORD "TYPE" AND THE WORDS "FOR EXAMPLE" AND "FACTS WHICH COULD LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION" IN OUR AGREED STATEMENT. "SUCH LANGUAGE WAS NOT SUITABLE FOR INCLUSION IN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT." I RESPONDED THAT I WOULD SPEAK TO SUBJECT AT TODAY'S PLENARY. JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SALT (ARMS CONTROL), DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MEETING REPORTS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MartinML
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SALTT05339
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760261-0522
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760783/aaaacvhb.tel
Line Count: 98
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MartinML
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10 MAY 2004 by buchant0>; APPROVED <01 SEP 2004 by MartinML>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JOHNSON-SEMOV PRIVATE MEETING JULY 6 (SALT TWO-1050)
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, (JOHNSON, U ALEXIS), (SEMOV)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006